2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AI 12 North China AF12

that did not have one or more members working on cotton, ginning, beating, spinning, or weaving. This was only 1.5 per cent of the home industry families in the five villages. Only 12 females and 72 males in those villages were non-cotton workers, 0.6 per cent of the female workers and 5.4 per cent of the male workers. If the families in the mat weaving village are included, 80 per cent of the workers in the 1,220 families were working on cotton.

More than one industry was reported by 27 per cent of the families. There were 321 with two industries and eight with three. Ginning, spinning, and weaving was one series. Spinning, weaving leg bands, and making brooms was another.

Two kinds of work were reported by 10.5 per cent of the female workers but only 1.1 per cent of the males. None reported more than two. Spinning and weaving covered all the duplications for the 10 males and all but four of 210 duplications for the females.

The villages show an interesting concentration of industry. One village had only mat weaving. Some thread was spun in that village but it was all used in binding the mats so was not listed as a separate activity. All the bags were woven in one village. All but two of the 124 families weaving belts and leg bands lived in one village. Two-thirds of the industries reported were found in only one of the six villages. Bean curd making, cotton ginning and spinning, and cloth weaving were the only industries reported by five villages.

The items covered in our study of the 1,220 families made it possible to relate the family's land holdings to the size of the family, sex distribution, number of workers, and the proportion of the males and females working. The figures are given in Table 33.

Small land holdings were the rule. Eleven per cent of the families had no land and 82.2 per cent had less than 25 mu. Less than 1.0 per cent had 100 or more mu. As the amount of land held by the family increased the size of the average family generally increased. It was 4.1 persons for the landless families and 14.1 persons for those with 75–99 mu. As mentioned above the proportion of males decreased as the amount of land and the size of the family increased.

The average number of male workers per family did not change appreciably except in the highest group. Generally it was about 1.0 per family. In the 100 mu group, however, the average was only 0.1 male worker per family. For the females the average number of workers per

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12

438 462 family increased as the size of land holdings and the size of the family increased. It was 1.2 for the landless group but three times that for the 75–99 mu group.

438 462 565 The proportion engaged in home industry decreased for both the males and the females as the land holdings increased. The highest top figures were 45.0 per cent for the males and 69.2 per cent for the females. Both were in the under 25 mu group. If we assume that from 25 to 30 per cent of the females were girls too young to work (in our 5,255 families 25.3 per cent of the females were under 12 and 29.2 per cent were under 14 years of age), it seems evident that almost all of the older females in the families with less than 25 mu were doing some home industry. Even in the families with 100 or more mu of land 45.3 per cent of all the females were reported as working in home industry. Spinning is easy to do and the extra personal income undoubtedly appealed.

438 Detailed figures for three villages showed that from 40 to 57 per cent of the home industry workers began working before they were 15 years of age and that from 92 to 96 per cent began before they were 20 years of age. In one village there were two men who said they began working before they were 10 years old. There were two men and three women who began after they were 50 while one man and one woman said they started after they were 60 years old. Eleven persons said they had worked 65 or more years. Two women claimed to have worked 70 years.

438 435 The value of the annual industrial output was estimated to be $279,715, an average of $230 per family and $85 per worker. The average profit was estimated to be 16.4 per cent, $37.60 per family and $13.95 per worker per year. For the entire hsien the average income from home industry was estimated as $12.50 per family.[2]

The profit figures for the males and females show a wide range in the different villages. For the males the amount varied from $10.50 to $34.45. For the females the lowest amount was an average of $3.65 per year, one cent a day. In four villages the amount was less than $8.20 per year. The highest amount was $24.05 but that was in the mat weaving village, where it was impossible to separate the work of the men and the women and both had to be given the same average. If the division could be made, the average for the females would undoubtedly be considerably lower and that for the males correspondingly higher.

438 While we found it difficult to get an accurate estimate of the amount

2. See Chapter XV.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

CHAPTER XV

Industry

INDUSTRY in Ting Hsien was that of a non-mechanical, agricultural area. Power was almost entirely animal or human. The tools were mainly hand tools. The principal machines were the stone flour mill, the cotton gin, the cotton batting machine, the spinning wheel, the loom, and the Persian wheel for irrigation.

Because Ting Hsien was so predominately an agricultural area (96 per cent of its families farmed some land) only a small proportion of the industrial workers were engaged in year round industry. Most of them were farmers who turned to other occupations during the idle months on the farm. Because most of the industrial processes were relatively simple and required few tools and little capital, there was a large amount of home industry.

Industry, both home and shop,[1] engaged some 91,000 workers, about one in five of the total population and one in three of those over 14 years of age. The workers were divided approximately 24,500 males and 66,500 females. Approximately 12 per cent of all males and 34 per cent of all females were engaged in some form of industrial work. For those over 14 years of age the figures were males 18 per cent, females 50 per cent.

Every village had some form of home industry. Fifty-two per cent of the families in the hsien were engaged in some form of home industry. Fifty-seven per cent of the industrial output was produced by home industry. There were twenty times as many home industry families as there were industrial shops. There were ten times as many home workers as there were shop employees. Only 2.1 per cent of the population were shop workers.

Eighty-one per cent of the home workers were females, but only 4 per cent of the shop employees. Only one-quarter of one per cent of the females over 14 years of age were reported as shop workers. Two-

1. Shop is used for the non-family industrial workshop where production was the main activity. Store is used for the place where buying or selling, or both, was the primary business. See Chapter XIV.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

one of the duck-raising families has a brother in the village who is a good farmer. Members of the families of these two brothers seldom see each other in spite of their kinship tie.

The woolen factory in the market-town attracts several female- as well as male-workers from this village. Several sons of P'ing-chiao-tsun families have also been attracted to the city factories. But so far the effect of industrialization upon family life is not observable. Perhaps the time is still too short for these families to feel the effect. Also recently, a Mr. Y- has brought into the village a few machines for woolen manufacture. Workers, males and females, adults and children, are attracted from P'ing-chiao-tsun itself and other villages. Industrialization is surely taking place, and another couple of years will tell its effects.

As to consumption habits, the village folks have begun to smoke cigarettes from city factories. The cloth for clothing is no longer home-spun but comes from city factories as well. The tea-leaves and the household utensils come from places far away. P'ing-chiao-tsun has no electric light and its people cannot afford to visit movie houses. Members of the upper family are exceptions, but their habits and manners have no effect on the rest.

Naturally, the school and the political bodies, previously mentioned, are agents of urbanization. Our student- and faculty-investigators are also urban agents. While we do not look queer to the villagers, nevertheless they are interested in our habits of living and very often keep on asking for details about them.

The last but not the least important is the changing conception of time in the minds of the villagers. While time-clocks may still be regarded as decorations, the people have begun to use them to count their time in hours if not in minutes. The three counts of morning, afternoon and evening are getting too simple for them.

Meanwhile, the city of Peiping is changing toward an industrial urbanism. Thus the process of urbanization in P'ing-chiao-tsun is both old and new. While the residents of the city might have abandoned their old ways, the village folks may still keep them. But the new ways are surely coming, slow as they may be. The structure of this village may be different from that of an American rural community,[29]

29 Charles J. Galpin, Rural Life, New York, 1923; J. H. Kolb and Edmund de S. Brunner, A Study of Rural Society: Its Organization and Changes, Boston and New York, 1940.

EMPLOYMENT AND OCCUPATION

Two-thirds, aggregating 146, of the 220 persons were gainfully employed. Of this number 72 were males and 74 were females. The following table gives the distribution of employment and unemployment among persons of different age-groups.

Table. 5—Distribution of Employment and Unemployment, by Age and Sex

	Age group	Under 5	5-	10-	15-	20-	30-	40-	50-	60-	70-	All ages
Male	Gainfully employed	—	3	7	8	11	22	12	6	3	—	72
	Unemployed	14	15	9	—	1	1	—	1	—	1	42
	Total	14	18	16	8	12	23	12	7	3	1	114
Female	Gainfully employed	—	3	15	8	12	19	9	4	3	1	74
	Unemployed	14	7	2	—	—	1	3	2	2	1	32
	Total	14	10	17	8	12	20	12	6	5	2	106

While none under five was employed, persons in the 15-20 age group were, however, all engaged in some form of employment. This is true of both sexes. The only difference between the two sexes that appears in the present study is that more male members than female of the 5-10 and 10-20 age groups were unemployed. It seems that whereas the boys were unable to find suitable employment, young girls were contented to occupy themselves with manual work at home, thus helping their elders by contributing some of their pay to the family income.

Occupations of the employed persons may be classified as in Table 6.

It should be mentioned that by occupation is meant here any employment that is gainful to the person so employed. Apprenticeship, for instance, can hardly be called an occupation in the same sense as tailoring or spinning, but as an apprentice always stays away from home and thereby enables his family to save some expense on him, not to say the training he receives,

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER V

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

434 The income of the forty-eight families might be classified
465 under five different heads, viz: (1) wage-earnings of members of the families, (2) presents and gifts received from relatives or friends, including meals members took at their homes, (3) relief given by charitable agencies or persons, (4) rents from land or things and (5) other sources including interest from loans and sums of money derived from the sale of articles possessed by the family. Table 8 shows the sources and average amounts of family income in six months, ranging between $59.00 and $183.00. The average income per family was $103.26,[1] of which 90 per cent was derived from earnings, while the remaining 10 per cent, from the other four sources combined. It may be said that invariably by far the greater portion of the earnings was contributed by the husband or the head of the family, as it constituted more than 50
434 per cent of the average total earnings per family. Where the
462 husband's earnings fell short, as in the case of the last income
465 group in Table 8, it was invariably made up by the children, the younger members of the family. However, an exception to this generalization was found in the first income group, in which a widow earned no less than forty-nine dollars in six months to support her family. This must be considered as a peculiar case,

[1] It should be pointed out at this place that from the rickshamen's earnings a certain amount of money must be expended every day for the hire of the ricksha. This item we have purposely excluded from our consideration. For it was found that if this item be included in both the income and the expenditure of his family, its economic status would be so raised as to misrepresent its actual living standard. The ricksha is an instrument whereby the ricksaman expends his energy to gain a livelihood. In its nature, it differs in no way from the tools or machines provided by the modern factory. It is therefore thought that that part of the rickshaman's earnings which he spends to pay for the hire of his vehicle does not constitute his income.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

462
434 since the earning capacity of a woman is as a rule much lower
465 than that of a man.

As is to be expected, the greater the number of wage-
434 earners there is in a family, the greater the amount of earnings it
465 would receive. In other words, among the labourers—in particular
511 among the less skilled—any increase of the family income is usually due to the contributions of children of wage-earning age rather than to the increased earnings of husbands. The husband, as a rule, is the chief bread-earner of the family, but if he becomes advanced in age and his children have already grown up, then the major portion of the family income is generally earned by the children. What Mr. Rowntree has said of the British labourer that he passes in his life through five alternating periods of want and comparative plenty may be said to hold true also of the Chinese labourer.[1] That is to say, a labourer usually faces dire poverty during early childhood, in early middle life and in old age, while he enjoys short terms of prosperity in early adult life when he himself or his brothers and sisters begin to earn money, and then after marriage when his children begin to earn wages, the standard of living of the family on both occasions being somewhat raised.

434 Generally speaking, earnings from wives form but an inconsi-
465 derable part of the family income, although wives of forty-one
462 families in the inquiry were engaged in some kind of work. The reason for this may be sought partly in the low pay of their work and partly in the fact that apart from their manual toil, they had also their own domestic duties to attend to. In fact, except in large cities, the woman's place in industry has not yet been established in China, and in a city like Peking, to be employed as a domestic servant is perhaps the only occupation that could bring reasonable pay to women. Of course, there are also exceptional cases in which a widow having children or a wife with an invalid husband to support has to engage herself in some handicraft work, in order to earn sufficient income for their living.

[1] Rowntree, Op. cit. pp. 136-7.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

875 consider 50 per cent of his salary as his actual income, for dur-
465 ing the year 1926-27 the teachers received on the whole only about one half of his pay. The former is adopted in Table 27.

Three of the teachers were holding concurrent posts as tutors in private families, thus receiving extra pay for their work. It is known that on account of the irregularity of payment of salaries, many teachers have been compelled to take up extra work in order to secure some additional income for a living.

875 4. Employment of the Family Members. In five of the
462 families there were, besides the teachers, other members engaged
562 in some gainful employment.

It is interesting to note that, in contrast with the married woman of the working families, that of the middle class families in China has but rarely pursued any profession. Of course, she is occupied with general housekeeping, which is by no means an easy job itself, and also sewing, as the clothes of all the members are generally cut and tailored at home; and the performance of these domestic duties no doubt constitutes a part of the income of the family, the exact value of which in terms of money is often impossible to state. But what is remarkable is that she is but seldom engaged in any gainful employment outside her home, even though there may be a necessity for her to do so. This, it may be suggested, is mainly due to the following reasons. Firstly, a sense of importance or social superiority is often assumed by the married woman of the middle class, because belonging to a higher social class means that she has become a *tai-tai* (lady) and not an ordinary woman, and consequently it would be below her dignity to do such handicraft work as the women of the working families often occupy themselves with. It may perhaps be considered as one of the features which characterizes all civilized societies that the higher the social status of a family, the more leisurely life the woman of that family leads or ought to lead. If women as producers are mainly found in the so-called lower classes, women as consumers who wantonly dissipate wealth created in sweat and blood usually constitute what

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

is called "society." Secondly, there are in China as yet still few careers that are open to women. The few professions that women may pursue such as nursing, teaching, medicine, and literary work, are developed but very recently and have not yet provided sufficient attraction to them, even after their marriage. Furthermore, it must be admitted that the training offered by the small number of schools and colleges in this country is often found inadequate for the woman to lead a professional life.

While these considerations are, on the whole, true, one must, however, not conclude that all women of the comfortable families in China are of the leisure class. In particular, the wife of the teacher often has a very hard time at home. None of the families investigated kept any servant and housekeeping in China sadly needs many of the facilities that are found in the West. Considering the volume of work a housewife has to attend to, from cooking and cleaning to laundering and tailoring, her time must be fully occupied all day long. Add to this her manifold duties as a mother, we shall then be able to realize the busy life of the teacher's wife.

Parenthetically one may perhaps be allowed to make this generalization regarding the future of the middle-class woman. With the economic pressure steadily setting in, she will have to emerge from her home and earn a living outside, while the development of educational facilities and the utilization of modern time-saving contrivances in housekeeping will certainly enable her to become an efficient worker in various fields of activities.

FAMILY INCOMES

The incomes of the twelve families[1] may be summarized as in Table 27. The average family income of the elementary school teacher amounted to $56.39 per month.

It should be admitted that Table 27 does not represent the actual conditions of the teachers' incomes, for, as has been noted, many of the items were merely nominal. In order to get a better

[1] [i.e., the sample teachers' family recorded--Analyst]

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER III.

POPULATION

1. Quantity and Density.

The total population of Ching Ho is approximately 2437. There are 613 in the stores, 38 in public and semi-public organisations, and 1819 in families-a total of 2470. The difference of the counted total with the real total is accounted for by the fact that some of the people in the stores and public services belong to families in Ching Ho, and they have been counted both in the canvas of the storee and services, and also in the house-to-house canvas. Therefore, it is necessary for us to deduct these people from the counted total. As far as we can ascertain there are 33 persons who have families living in Ching Ho and have been counted twice, so that this leaves a net total of 2437.

The total of 2437 does not only include those who live for most of the year in the community, but also includes a few others who while not actually living there do belong to the community. The family heads or sons who are working or studying away from home, but whose family or property are still in the district are often considered as members of the family, and hence of the community. There are 90 people who live outside of the town for the greater part of the year-77 males and 13 females. This points to the fact that the female members of the family are not so

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

162 accustomed to going outside the town for work as the
462 men. In China industry and trade are still monopolised almost entirely by men[1], and this brings into consideration many factors in the study of sex composition in the town and in the country, a detailed discussion of which will be presented in the next chapter.

162 In trying to ascertain the density of the population, or number of people per square mile, we have found some difficulty in finding the exact area of the town. There is no map, or official measurements or statement, and it is difficult to get any person to assist in this direction. Accord to our measurement the distance from north to south is 2650 Chinese feet, and the distance from east to west after the necessary adjustments have been made for the irregular shape is 850 Chinese feet. The total area will then be 2,252,500 square feet according to the Chinese system. As 25,360,000 square feet according to Chinese measurement is equivalent to one square mile, we have in Ching Ho an area of 0.089 square miles. With 2,437 people in 0.089 square miles, the population density of Ching Ho should be 27,000 persons per square mile.

2. Sex Composition.

China is predominantly a man's country, not only in the administration of the law and in work, but also in the composition of its population. In the twelve big cities of China we have the high percentage of 61% males as compared with 39% females, But this is chiefly owing to the fact that in the big cities

1. Except in port cities.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

of these trades, it seems probable that these were high averages. The wagon drivers lost approximately four days a month.

The women doing sewing and washing received an average of 33 cents a day for the days they worked; but one-half of those for whom figures are available worked on the average less than six days a month. There were four women who reported income on more than 200 days. In two families they were the only breadwinners.

None of the women in the 23 families with incomes of more than $150 a month were gainfully employed. In only four of the 45 families with incomes between $70 and $150 were there any women working. They were trained nurses and teachers.

Religion

Four Mohammedan families were included in our group, and 52 families in which there was some Christian influence—where one or more persons were either inquirers or church members. This is a smaller proportion of Mohammedan families, and a much larger proportion of families with Christian influence, than would be true for Peiping as a whole.

Account keeping was new to many of the families, and they were willing to do it for us largely because they were friends of the field-work directors, or friends of their friends. Both of the head field-workers were graduates of mission schools, so their acquaintance and that of their friends would naturally include a large proportion of families who had had some contact with Christianity. Such contact would tend to eliminate expenditure for non-

TABLE 3

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Age and Sex—Number in Five-Year Age Groups

Age	Male	Female	Total
1— 5	58	63	121
6—10	60	63	123
11—15	66	81	147
16—20	57	68	125
21—25	51	50	101
26—30	69	64	133
31—35	49	52	101
36—40	65	62	127
41—45	40	39	79
46—50	45	38	83
51—55	20	31	51
56—60	23	28	51
61—65	15	13	28
66—70	12	11	23
71—75	3	2	5
76—80	..	2	2
81—85	..	1	1
N. D.	5	6	11
Total	638	674	1312

TABLE 4

Occupations—Men

462

Clerk and Accountant	47	Carpenter	5
Contractor	1	Chauffeur	1
Doctor	2	Cook	6
Fortune-teller	1	Coalball Maker	3
House Owner	12	Embroidery Worker	1
Inn Keeper	1	Glasses Grinder	1
Librarian	1	Hair Ornament Maker	1
Money Lender	2	Machinist	1
Musician	2	Mason	6
Office Manager	1	Mat Shed Builder	3
Preacher	6	Medicine Maker	3
Story-teller	1	Painter	1
Teacher	21	Paper Flower Maker	1
Translator	2	Paper Hanger	5
		Pen Maker	1
Army	3	Printer	3
Police	6	Shoemaker	5
Post Office	8		
Railroad	3	Electric Company	24
Telegraph	1		
Telephone	2	Storekeeper	17
Barber	1	Peddler	25
Bird Catcher	3		
Cloth Worker	1	Store Clerk or Worker	13

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

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Occupations—Men—(Continued)

Camel Driver	1	Push-cart Man	3
Catafalque Bearer	1	Ricksha Man	46
Coolie	3	Servant	13
Gatekeeper	3	Street Sprinkler	1
Laundry Man	1	Wagon Driver	7
Porter	7		

Occupations—Women

Actress	1	Servant	6
Doctor	1	Sewing and Washing	58
House Owner	2	Teacher	5
Match Company	1	Thread Maker	1
Nurse	6	Toothbrush Maker	9
Paper Flower Maker	2	Weaving	4
Peddler	1	N. D.	1

TABLE 5

Monthly Wage Rates for Different Occupations

465

Occupation	Wages
Coalball Maker	room and $ 8
Servant	12
Shoemaker	12
Gatekeeper	12 and 15
Policeman	13 to 16
Carpenter	14
Mason	12 and 16
Camel Driver	15
Ricksha Man (with ricksha)	18
" " (without ricksha)	12
Wagon Driver	20
Chauffeur	20
Private Telephone Operator	20
Glasses Grinder	30
Clerk	14 to 90
Post-office Sorters and Clerks	20 to 35
Employee of Electric Company	17 to 100
Boiler Room	20 to 60
Engine Room	45 to 100
Pastor of a Church	usually house and 35 to 65
Teacher	14 to 80
School Proctor	90
Librarian	100
Middle School Principal	house and 150
Middle School Dean	house and 185
College Professor	280
Doctor	house and 125
Station Master	150
Railroad Telegraph Operator	195
Woman In-servant	food, etc., and 2.50 to 3.50
Woman Out-servant	12 and 16
Hospital Nurse	15